# UNITY

*FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION*

## Mystical Experiences

*By Edward Scribner Ames*

After Repeal—What? - - *Alfred W. Swan*

The Forgotten Woman - - *Meta Lilienthal*

Marriage or Divorce for a Dollar
- - - - - - - - - - *Russell Wright*

Book Reviews:—*John Haynes Holmes, Curtis W. Reese, Raymond B. Bragg, Frank Doane, Robert C. Schaller, Frederick Starr.*

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## The Field

*"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."*

### Two Vehicles Toward Understanding the True India

In spite of Depression, Dr. Lough's University Afloat and the Upton Close "cultural expedition" continue their annual trips to the Orient. This persistency seems to confirm the conviction that travel-and-study - on - the - spot is fundamental and not to be undervalued because of India's geographic remoteness, when developing India consciousness in Americans.

Each reader is a potential mission to stir interest in travel to India. As such, he should bear in mind that American study of India in India must mean living and learning under Indian rather than English auspices. Many Americans are still under the illusion that the Englishman and other Occidentals who have lived for decades in India are the right persons to interpret India to visitors, to guide their observing and reading while there. This illusion has perpetuated misleading conceptions (e. g. misleading is the common view of India as a gorgeous bizarrely ornamental elephant). The great truth which a vast past and varied cultural life as well as malicious propaganda have obscured is: India is of the future, not of the past. This means that the detail of England's political position of the moment and the cultural treasures and loads left by the past must be viewed in the perspective of the great free India of the near future.

As aids in attracting and normalizing American study of India in India, there are two practical machines whose wheels can be set turning within the present year.

*An American Institute in India*

One of these machines is the creation of a center or chain of centers for Americans while in India. There are already many facilities for living among Indians; e. g. It is not necessary to create an "American Institute in India" out of a blue sky. Existing institutions are sufficient in number; the need is to organize those existing into a unit and to let Americans know how welcome they will be. Here are examples of the material on hand from which to build. In Madras there

(*Continued on Page* 19)

# UNITY

*"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"*

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## HOW LONG?

**How long, Americans, how long**
**Shall these conditions stand?**
**Millions on millions wanting bread,**
**And bursting bins at hand.**

**How long, Americans, how long**
**Shall bankers gorge their tills**
**While workers lift up idle tools,**
**And gaze on empty mills?**

**How long, Americans, how long**
**Shall shibboleths and flags**
**Content us, while our babies starve,**
**Our mothers walk in rags?**

**How long, Americans, how long**
**Will peace and plenty wait**
**When once the people claim their own,**
**And take what they create?**

**How long? Creation cracks and breaks**
**Beneath the ancient wrong!**
**And heaven cries out, AMERICANS!**
**AMERICANS! HOW LONG?**

ROBERT WHITAKER

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It would not have seemed possible, a few weeks ago, that anybody could out-Hitler Hitler—but Dollfuss has done it! Not in all the folly and madness of the Nazi leader can there be found anything quite so ghastly as the war of the Austrian chancellor upon the working people of Vienna. Hitler forfeited the growing goodwill of the world toward Germany, when he established his rule of the Brown Shirts and started his pogroms against Jews and radicals. But Austria enjoyed a compassion and support far greater than any sentiment that had ever come to the Reich, and Dollfuss wiped this out with a suddenness and completeness which Hitler never knew. The Nazis destroyed the Socialists and the Communists with a thoroughness which was ruthless, but the work of the storm troops was as the disciplined repression of trained police compared with the bloodthirsty savagery of the Austrian Heimwehr. When a government moves its artillery into the streets and bombards the homes of its citizens, killing women and children as well as men, a depth of horror is reached which carries us far toward hell. What happened to Dollfuss may never be known. The miserable little man lost not only his head but his nerve. Such things as were done in Vienna can be perpetrated only by a coward who is possessed by a mania of fear. But what this timid tyrant accomplished in his madness is as clear as the blood on the walls of the Karl Marx Haus. With the insensate fury of a frustrated sadist, he destroyed a democracy which remained as one of the few truly civilized spots on the map of contemporary Europe. The Socialists of Vienna had done wonderful and beautiful things, and the working-people of this city and its environs, and of Linz and Gratz and other Austrian cities, were among the happy and free people of the earth. And now they are gone—with the latest Fascist dictatorship triumphant over the corpses of the heroic dead! That this Austrian Fascism is of the Italian rather than the German variety gives cold comfort. Also, it is unimportant, for that Dollfuss will soon go and Hitler straightway come is as certain as the day following the night. Then shall we know whether Vienna is the Sarajevo of the next war!

---

France, swept by violence and incipient revolution, was ripe a few weeks ago for a "duce" or a "fuehrer." It looked for a few hectic hours as though the nation were going the way of Italy and Germany. But the strong democratic instinct of the people asserted itself. Also, the "strong man" did not appear. Instead of a dictator, there was set up what may be called, after the famous English precedent, "a ministry of all the talents." It is somewhat paralyzing to look at this new French cabinet, headed by a former President of the Republic, Gaston Doumerge, and note the presence of no less than six former Premiers, Barthou, Sarraut, Laval, Tardieu, Herriot, and Doumerge himself, to say nothing of Marshall Petain as Minister of War. There could be no American parallel for this array, but we can catch some idea of its meaning if we imagine President Roosevelt surrounding himself with a cabinet including Herbert Hoover, Alfred E. Smith, John W. Davis, Elihu Root, and General Pershing. There was undoubtedly dreadful crisis in Paris for a few hours, and the renewal of rioting after the announcement of the new government shows that the crisis has not passed. What we see in France is the impact of the depression,

which arrived late in that country, coupled with the steadily increasing tension of the international situation which has not without reason given Frenchmen a case of "nerves." What awaits in the immediate future no man can say—before this editorial can be printed, a lot may happen! The only thing certain is that stability is a long way off, and that the upset in France makes only the more uncertain the whole European set-up. This is a time for holding one's breath, hoping for the best, and praying to the Lord.

---

The religious war in Germany still remains confused. So far as we can make out, Hitler has decided to back up his bishop, Mueller, and curb the churches to absolute obedience to the totalitarian state. What the rebellious Pastors Emergency Federation is doing in this latest crisis, we do not know. Since Mueller received the endorsement of his chief, not much news has come out of the Reich. Which would seem to indicate that the rebellion of the heroic pastors is continuing and is being rigorously repressed behind the impenetrable veil of censorship! This is precisely what we would expect, for if anything has most deeply stirred our enthusiasm for the Christian cause in Nazi Germany, it has been the certainty that the clergy were doomed to defeat and punishment. It is this which has made their stand against tyranny so magnificent. In many ways these men have fallen short of true idealism. Thus, they have offered little protest and opposition to the Jewish pogrom. They have on the whole accepted the Hitlerite regime. Their revolt has been pretty exclusively on matters pertaining to their own theological and ecclesiastical concern. But in the end, the issue was drawn, and nobly faced. The Nazi government demanded action of the churches which involved an unescapable choice between God and the state, between Christ and "Der Fuehrer," between the Gospel and the law; and in this dilemma, be it said, between 6,000 and 7,000 pastors defied the government in obedience to their conscience and their vows. This was a revival of the Luther spirit, the more sublime as victory from the beginning seemed impossible. Now the blow has fallen—the pastors must yield, or be driven from their pulpits and otherwise terribly punished!—It is to be noted that it is the Fundamentalists, not the Liberals, who have led in this holy fight. Which raises the question as to whether, in the end, it is not essential to believe something in this matter of religion!

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The death of Albert, King of the Belgians, was primarily a personal tragedy. It was a genuine tragedy, for if we must have kings, this is the kind we want. In almost paralyzing contrast to his father, Albert the Good embodied all private and personal virtues, and must ever be remembered with affection. But he had no part in the present European embroilment, fortunately for his country, and his death therefore passes without political significance. There is an historic significance in this event, however, which pertains to the days of the Great War and Belgium's role therein. What impressed us, in the world-wide comment on Albert's death, was the revival of all the old propaganda legends about the German invasion of Belgium, the resistance of the King, the response of Great Britain, and so on *ad infinitum*. It would seem as though nothing had been learned since 1914 about the facts of this remarkable episode. We know now, of course, that Belgium was to all intents and purposes an ally of the Triple Entente, that every gun in the elaborate Belgian fortifications was pointed against Germany, that the little kingdom was fated to resist Germany and aid the Allies even had it been French and not German troops that crossed the frontier. Belgium was *not neutral*, was *not* defenseless, and was *not* the occasion of Britain's entry into the struggle which was already pledged to France. But the legend started early, and it continues late. As a matter of fact, it is this legend of Belgium as the helpless victim of German aggression which will persist, and not all the history books of the world will ever overcome it. For it is legend that lives within the hearts of men. Most of what is believed about ancient and modern times never happened at all. But this does not matter! It ought to have happened, and that's enough!

---

No sensible person can view the mounting debt of the United States without alarm. The whole success or failure of the President's program may hang upon the question as to whether recovery comes before the day of reckoning. H. G. Wells called our age a race between education and catastrophe. In the same way the situation in this country may be described as a race between national income and outgo. Thus, on December 7th last, at the close of business on that day, the government debt stood at $23,549,274,189. At that time it was estimated that expenditures during the remainder of the fiscal year, to July 1st, would raise this debt to a total of between 27 and 28 billions. Now the President's budget figures have raised the grand total to 31 billions. That this estimate is moderate rather than extreme is indicated by the fact that this one session of Congress is expected to appropriate not less than $4,000,000,000. These of course are astronomical figures which mean nothing except in terms of cost. What this debt means in this regard may be indicated by citing a striking historical event. It was not so many years ago that a vast sensation was created in this country by what was called "the billion dollar Congress." A Congress had actually appropriated the staggering sum of one billion dollars for the expenditures of government—one billion dollars in two sessions, or $500,000,000 per session! Now, in this pres-

ent Congress, Director of the Budget Douglas is actually obliged to provide for an expenditure of around $800,000,000 *for payment of interest on the national debt alone,* before any other expenses of government are provided for at all. In a short time, in other words, we shall be paying as much in one year to carry our debt as the most sensationally extravagant Congress in American history paid in two years to meet all governmental expenditures. Can we do it? Yes, says Professor Tugwell, if prosperity comes back, for the resources of the United States in potential wealth production are immeasurable. But suppose prosperity does not come back, or comes back too slowly. What then? The technocrats contend that it is our debt structure which is crushing us. Yet we go on piling it up. What is the answer?

---

Repeal has not been with us very long, but already it is evident that the newspapers are going to be just as blatantly dishonest under the new regime as the old. When Prohibition was with us, the brazenest kind of lying was done to prove that conditions could not be worse; now that Prohibition has gone for a time, the same kind of lying is being done to prove that conditions could not be better. One fact, of course, even the press cannot conceal, distort, or deny, and that is that much more liquor is being consumed today than ever was consumed even in the "wettest" areas under the 18th Amendment. The scarcity of the supply of liquor, with the distilleries running full blast, the importations pouring in, and the bootleggers still on the job, clearly indicates that restrictions under Prohibition were real, and that now the "old soak" days are back again. But, on the whole, the real facts of the present situation are being covered up by the foulest mass of falsehood that our American newspapers have ever handled. In New York, for example, the evidences of drunkenness are everywhere apparent. We saw more intoxication in the twelve days of the 1933-34 holidays than in all the twelve years and more of Prohibition. But the papers all agreed, in sensational front-page stories, that the city had never had so sober and orderly a celebration! Steadily, now, drunkenness will increase; wife-beating and child-neglect will reappear; automobile accidents will multiply; alcoholism will become once more a problem. But our daily papers will say nothing about it. On the contrary, they will paint so fair a picture of America under the reign of "booze," that the people will rest content until absolutely intolerable conditions on their own streets, at their own thresholds, have again aroused revolt. Journalism in this country has crimes aplenty to repent of, but none so terrible as its "false witness" on the liquor question.

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## Jottings

Now abideth Mussolini, Hitler, Dollfuss—these three. And the vilest of these is Dollfuss!

---

When the massacre in Vienna was at its height, Dollfuss proclaimed to the people his offer to serve as honorary foster-father to all the orphans of his victims. Herod, when he slaughtered the innocents in Jerusalem, thought of no such magnanimity as this!

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When we ponder the history which France and other countries are writing today, we are tempted to wonder if "historical" has anything to do with "hysterical."

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In a recent race war in Georgia, resulting in the death of three Negroes, the Governor refused to order investigation on the ground that it is not the duty of the state government "to take a hand in crimes committed, unless they are unusual." This is a revealing statement. According to the Governor of Georgia, the murder of Negroes in that state is not "unusual!"

---

It was the lioness who said, "Only one cub, but a *lion!*" The Democratic Party has had only three presidents since 1861—but these three were Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt!

---

Things are certainly coming to a pretty pass for us total abstainers. Here in a hotel room in Minneapolis we read:

> You will find combination corkscrew and bottle-opener in bathroom for your convenience. *Please make use of it.*

So we've got to drink, whether we want to or not!

J. H. H.

---

### To Dollfuss

Name to be blistered with scorn whenever spoken,
Symbol of all we must break or we shall be broken,
We and the heart of the world too slow to be woken!

A halo for Nero! He never set fire to Rome.
A halo and harp for each war-lord who crimsoned the loam
But who never fired on mothers and children at home.
Come, yield him your throne, oh Satan, stand at the heel
Of this actual devil strutting a hell too real
Where the guiltless are fed to the flames and are suckled on steel.

But not for long! No hell can be eternal.
The husk of right can be burnt but never the kernel.
All mothers will weep for each baby you turned to a clot.
Some day you will moan:
*Would God . . . would God I had not!*

RALPH CHEYNEY

# Mystical Experiences*

As I look from my upper window on this winter morning the city street presents a lovely scene. The pure white snow covers the ground and shimmers in the sun. The black tree trunks and stark branches throw long shadows over the cold canvass. The paths are cleared for the children romping and shouting, on their way to school. The scene awakens memories of days far past, days of happy play and joyous comradeship. The beauty and the memories make the heart exclaim, What a lovely world! Absorbed in contemplation and reflection on what is immediately seen and remembered, all discordant elements are crowded out or reduced to a dim background which only heightens the pleasure of the moment.

This is what I call a mystical experience. It is also aesthetic, poetic, emotional. Psychologically it is the same as the experience I had in church yesterday when the organ played a Bach chorale. So far as the quality of the experience is concerned the religious mood is the same. That which differentiates the religious feeling is the occasion, the objects of contemplation, and the associations. But the line is not sharply drawn. Much depends upon the individual, upon his habits of thought and upon his use of words. The important feature is the sense of harmony, of elation. In mystical terms it is the sense of union, of *rapport*. It may be "mild," as in the case of the mild mystics, or it may be very intense, as in the ecstasy of the grand mystics.

Such experiences are characterized by immediacy, by transiency, and by ineffability, to use the terms of William James. It is the ineffability which is most stressed by the mystics. But this is not peculiar to religious emotion of the intense kind. It is evident in the pleasure of contemplating sunsets, drifting clouds, the full moon in a clear sky, the soft fur of a kitten, or the velvet cheek of a child. No poetry or prose ever exhausts all that is felt in any of them. The description never equals the thrill of the actual event any more than a photograph of the beloved satisfies completely the ardent lover.

This is a characteristic that has been made the basis of mysticism which is to be carefully distinguished from the mystical experience. The latter is common to all intense, satisfying emotion and as such is quite innocent of any theoretical or metaphysical significance. But mysticism is a *doctrine* built upon this ineffability. It is the doctrine that natural knowledge, either by sense perception or by rational processes is partial and relative, and is therefore inadequate to deal with ultimate Reality. Since the ecstatic experience is too deep and too high to be expressed in the forms of knowledge, it is said to reach into the supernatural and to have a noetic quality of a unique untranslatable kind. Further inference is made to the effect that that which is given in the ecstatic rapture is the Divine, the Absolute, the Supreme Reality, God. The experience is then interpreted to the mystic's heart's content as a special privilege, private, incommunicable. Only those who have experienced it can appreciate it. They are of the initiated, the specially favored, the chosen and elect.

In the nature of the case no argument can answer these claims, for arguments are on the plane of the natural and the ordinary. One either feels and shares in the great mood or he does not, and that mood remains safe and inaccessible to any attacks of reason. Having this inner evidence of celestial communion, the subject of it goes his way, serene in the possession of the great secret of the religious life. The mischief of it is not that the mystic cannot be convinced of the fallacy of his claims, but that other persons who do not have the ecstasy may be persuaded that they therefore have no genuine religious experience. Probably no single claim of religionists has done more damage to the cause of religion among persons of prosaic temperaments. In the old days when striking conversions were emphasized as the signs of the regenerate life, many sane and normal souls were led to conclude that religion was not for them because they saw no visions and felt no call. Wherever religion is conceived as primarily a matter of emotion it is likely to suffer from the caprice of unintelligibility and accordingly to be dismissed as not subject to reasonable methods of cultivation and attainment.

Mysticism has been misled by seeking the meaning of mystical experience above and not below the level of emotion itself. Professor Leuba in his "Psychology of Mysticism," has thoroughly explored the lower side and has shown that what the mystic supposed he found in the upper regions really arose from the depths. Those depths are the realms of natural, organic impulse and desire. Sex plays a very large part, as the original biographical documents show. But while the mystic talks so much of the divine love, and of spiritual marriage, he insists that these words are highly figurative and symbolic. His love is nothing sensuous or bodily or sexual. It is pure. It is heavenly. It is divine. The facts of his life history, however, belie him. Even when visions and raptures are induced by fasting, vigils, solitude, and fatigue, he admits no causal relation between them. When the sensuous elements are deliberately heightened by hair shirts, beds of spikes, and other tortures, he does not recognize the resulting states for what they are. Whatever excuse there was for such illusions and hallucinations in the pre-scientific days of the great traditional mystics, there is now no excuse in the light of modern psychology.

Where then does the emotional experience come in? It comes along with action, overt and contemplative. Emotion is the sign of ineffectual effort in deed or thought. This may occur before the act when there is uncertainty as to how to meet a difficulty; or it may come after the act which has successfully overcome the obstacle. A person riding in an automobile and in a hurry to meet an appointment experiences emotion when a tire is punctured and the car stopped. He is "worried" by the delay and alternates between hope of getting the tire fixed in time, and fear of missing the engagement. If he is lucky in getting the aid of a mechanic and finally makes his destination at the right moment, he feels emotion of relief and joy. The emotion reverberates as long as he remembers the strain in relation to the success. Religious emotions arise with the great conflicts involved in the moral and spiritual crises of life. James cites the case of S. H. Hadley who became "a homeless, friendless drunkard" and was

*Article No. 9 in series, "Trends in Present-day Religion." The author, Edward Scribner Ames, is chairman of the Department of Philosophy, in the University of Chicago, Dean of the Disciples Divinity House, Pastor of the University Church of the Disciples of Christ, Chicago, author of "Psychology of Religious Experience" and numerous other works.

at the brink of suicide through despair. He was converted in Jerry M'Auley's mission and became an active and useful rescuer of drunkards in New York. Of his conversion Hadley says:

> Never with mortal tongue can I describe that moment. Although up to that moment my soul had been filled with indescribable gloom, I felt the glorious brightness of the noonday sun shine into my heart. I felt I was a free man.

It is not the religious phraseology that makes the case religious. It is rather the depth and significance of the conflict and the victorious issue. Whether a person expresses himself in conventional theological terms depends upon his training and his habits of speech. The emotional stress and reaction may be the same and they are involved with overt habits and conduct.

The mystics make much of attaining union with Reality and they often express it as realizing the presence of God, but it is notable that they do not, if consistent, undertake to define God. By their own doctrine God is undefinable. We may then, perhaps, be allowed to use the word Life in order to make clear the nature of the experience thus described. The word God has become difficult for many people since it is felt by them to be bound up with theological traditions and doctrines which they no longer accept. It is informing, however, to note in the use of the word Life or its equivalent, much the same function. When fortune smiles on us we say, Life is good to us. Or we say, It is a good World. We seem to require a word now and then to sum up the total scheme of things to which we feel indebted. It is not sufficient to mention the persons or the events through which we see that the good fortune, or health, or pleasure, has come. Every event is complicated with an indefinite number of relations and implications. Causes do not act singly. They operate in concatenations and if followed they run out into infinite complexity. It is consequently necessary to have words which summarize the vague Whole within which our lives are borne and upon which we depend. We may call that whole Nature, or Life, or the Cosmos, or Reality, or God. Psychologically and emotionally they may have much the same value. One poet sings:

> Oh, Life, I breathe thee in the breeze,
> I feel thee bounding in my veins,
> I see thee in these stretching trees,
> These flowers, this still rock's mossy stains.

Another speaks in the same way of God:

> God is here! I hear His Voice
> While thrushes make the woods rejoice.
> I touch His robe each time I place
> My hand against a pansy's face.

The fact that we use inclusive concepts to designate this whole of things does not mean that the Reality is something apart from the concrete and actual forms in which it appears. There is here some clue to the sense of mystery which the mystic magnifies. The mind never dwells on parts and particulars alone, but always makes some reference to the larger situation to which the parts belong. I know certain streets and some buildings and some people but there is always at least the implication of the city, New York or Chicago, to which they belong. If the attempt is made to compass the whole city in imagination, the effort fails for it is impossible to grasp all the details and we therefore use the general concept of the city to name the whole. But that whole is like the general concept of world or reality —indefinite and vague but still useful. Easily we come to transfer the feeling we have for the parts, and for specific personal experiences, to the whole, whether that whole be city or world. If we have had a pleasant journey to New York, have met congenial people there, have seen something of its art and grandeur, we are likely to have a favorable, appreciative attitude toward the entire city. One may hear favored visitors like that say, Oh, I just love New York.

In similar fashion, a person who has experienced good things in this world (and among the good things may be some insight or inner experience which the onlooker may not detect), may generalize his appreciative attitude until he says, It is a good World; or, God is good! That is a mystical experience, and it holds mystery and surprise beyond expression, but it is not evidence that the individual has passed into another realm or left the natural man behind. Astronomy, physics, geology, and other sciences have vastly enlarged man's outlook on the universe, and may afford new facts and scales of estimation, but these enrich the concept of the Whole, and increase occasion for wonder and awe. Now that we are beginning to include man and society within this Whole, we are beginning to be able to be scientific *and* mystical without illusion or inconsistency.

EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES.

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### Upon Reading Hume's "Treasure House of the Living Religions"

The hermit-saints of old India's forests,
The sages who mused under Chinese skies,
The prophets who, by Jordan or Tigris,
Kept dreaming the dream that made them wise,

Mahomet who brought the hard-riding Arab
To seek in his heart the tent of the Lord,
Buddha who walked the path of compassion,
And Christ who lived love as its own reward—

Are met here at last, with a hundred other
Rare comrades of Truth, the seers of our star.
How bright their calm presence! Revealing the godly,
They mirror what we in our hope-selves are.

Way-finders, faith-darers, they wait for us moderns,
Confused in our journey and ruled by Dread,
To sit for awhile in their simple high council
And by the World-Dreamer within us be led.

ALAN JENKINS.

### I Gathered Stars

That night I gathered stars and lay
Them lightly in my opened hands.
The moon was there, as bright as day,
And kind as one who understands.

I did not see the earth, nor care—
It was so lonely, dead and still.
I tread with God the rising stair,
My feet upon a moonlit hill.

But suddenly the moon went down
And silhouetted tree and spire.
I felt the shadows of the town
Dispelling my age-old desire.

That night I gathered stars I hurled
Them far and wide and saw them fall
Against the hardness of the world
Shedding a brightness over all.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

# After Repeal—What?*

Thirteen years ago the eighteenth Amendment became a part of the law of the land, and the sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage went under the ban. Now by an overwhelming popular vote that Amendment has been washed away.

It is singular that Utah should have been the thirty-sixth and necessary state to ratify repeal; for Utah is the home of the Latter Day Saints, with whom it is religious principle and consistent practice never to use intoxicants. It is evidence that there are many people who will bind themselves with obligations, to which they will not ask others unwillingly to conform. There is true gallantry in the fact that there are more abstainers than prohibitionists in the country now.

But the passing of legal prohibition leaves the whole matter confused in people's minds. What shall we do about it now? Many a house is divided against itself. Social groups, hitherto of good accord, must now decide the question: To drink or not to drink. I am perfectly aware that this congregation is divided on this important issue.

It puts the minister in a difficult and ticklish position. If he is a gentleman of balance, he may try to please everybody, and succeed in pleasing no one.

> There once was a preacher of sense,
> Who sat very tight on the fence.
> When the folks of the town
> Said, 'Preacher, come down!'
> He replied with a feeling intense,
> 'The question is Whither, not Whence!'

But I want to come down off the fence, and I want to make it perfectly clear on which side of the fence I come down on.

Perhaps I ought to indicate enough of my own background, so that you may discount the personal equation in the judgments I may pass upon the matter. I grew up in Ohio, and I was taught for many reasons to be proud of that.

But in this connection Ohio is chiefly to be remembered for its leadership of the temperance and prohibition movements. At Oberlin, Ohio, the Prohibition Party was formed. At Hillsboro, Ohio, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized. Westerville, Ohio, became the best known small town in the country, as the headquarters of the Anti-Saloon League and the place of publication of the *American Issue*.

To have to admit at the present juncture that one comes from Ohio, I suppose, is equivalent to stepping into a meeting of the American Academy of Sciences and announcing that one hails from Dayton, Tennessee. But I venture not only to confess but to boast that the principles of temperance and prohibition were profoundly formative with me. It was a part of our social vision; and we worked for its fulfillment. It was a part of our religion; and we prayed for its success.

And there are millions of us still. Now that ours are again minority opinions, they are but intensified in feeling. No one reckons with every factor in the situation, who does not sense the sore hearts in America today, on the part of those who look upon theirs as a defeated cause.

But I come to bury prohibition, not to praise it. Very well; then: After Repeal—What?

*An address spoken in the First Congregational Church, Madison, Wisconsin.

## I

*In the first place, let us learn what lessons we can learn as, gleefully or glumly, we wave farewell to legal prohibition.*

One thing to be learned is that, to be effective, a law must be enforced, as well as made, by its friends. By an anachronism of governmental structure, the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment fell into the hands of a notoriously unsympathetic Treasury Department, when it should have been in charge of the Department of Justice. For two presidential administrations it had but luke-warm support; and a third, more friendly, bungled the job, when it was too late, by damning it with the faint praise of a "noble experiment." The effectiveness of law requires the enthusiastic support of every officer, from the chief executive of the land to the patrolman on the obscurest beat.

Further, we are to learn from this experiment that the sovereignty of the law actually does reside in the will of the people. This is not merely an ideal; it is a fact. Great numbers of people cannot be brought into conformity to laws they do not want. Here the principles of American government are sound.

But if we observe here that there are some things that law cannot do, we may learn also that there are some things science cannot do. Temperance and abstinence are reinforced in every way by the findings of physiological chemistry. But after all the scientific facts are in, there is something in us humans that often yells with Walter Winchell, "Oh yeah, what of it!" The temperance lecturers used to take a glass of alcohol and break an egg in it, to illustrate how the albumen of the body tissues is coagulated by alcoholic oxidation. And youth went home and said, "I learned something today. What? Not to mix eggs with my drinks!" No, the laboratory is not a control room competent to regulate human behavior.

Furthermore, we have learned that human nature is such that it often knowingly chooses slavery, Milton saw it in the English Commonwealth that failed.

> What more oft in nations grown corrupt,
> And by their vices brot to servitude,
> Than to love bondage more than liberty.

We have chosen to cast off the restraint of law at the risk of chains irrevocably imposed by custom and habit.

And we have learned that evil, when economically parasitic upon human frailty, is not easy to be rid of. It takes more than we have lightly thought to be rid of such. Human behavior patterns are not widely to be changed so easily.

We shall have to lie us down and rest and bleed awhile, before we can rise and resume again the slipping, struggling steep ascent, by which men clambor up to God.

## II

*In the second place, then, let us courageously construct such social flood controls as are fair and possible.*

I confess I don't have much heart for it. Many of us are inclined to quote a saying not so old: That's not our baby! But we won't. We believe in majority government; not that the majority is always right. But we are inextricably bound up in social life with our fellowmen, and we ought every man of us to give himself intelligently to reaching such proximate social goals as are possible. So we'll play the game.

Of course, the problems of liquor control will not be easy. In the year 1919 Alfred E. Smith said to the Lotus Club in the City of New York,

> If I was asked tonight what, in my opinion, helped create some of the great sentiment against the liquor traffic in this state, I would have to say that it was because the liquor interests have opposed stubbornly for as many years back as I can remember, every attempt at the regulation of their business.

Perhaps human nature has been so changed by the experiment of prohibition, that now they will be amenable to control.

We shall have to decide whether liquor is to be sold from government dispensaries or from private stores. It is suggested that government monopoly, taking private profit out of the business, will deliver it from high pressure salesmanship and over consumption. But is it likely here that private profit will demurely surrender to government ownership?

If we abandon government sale in favor simply of government regulation, we will have then to decide whether that regulation shall be federal or state. If it is true that repeal means the reference of the whole matter to the several states, that means that we shall have forty-eight different systems over the country. It is hardly likely that Wisconsin and the Carolinas will see eye to eye on these matters. And of course, there will be no bootlegging from wet to dry territory. Bootlegging was a product of prohibition, don't you know!

Then we shall have to determine whether we will have a high license system or a moderate tax on liquors. We have been promised lower property and income taxes, now that liquor tax will virtually support the government! But if we put a high tax on the sale of beverages, there will be the old game of rum running through the revenue officers everywhere. Moreover, the state will have to pay for all the excess social wreckage due to any increase in American drinking. It is a matter of social and economic engineering, that we cannot buy the country rich at the expense of the bodies and souls of men.

And we are going to have to decide whether our method of distribution will permit consumption on the premises where it is sold. If it doesn't, we shall have something new under the sun. If it does, we shall have the old saloon, though we may pretend it is only a tavern. Here will be "the poor man's club, in which he debates his problems, under conditions which make sure he will remain a poor man, and always have plenty of problems to debate."

Then we will have to deal with an entirely new technique of liquor advertising. For the moment the liquor manufacturers have stubbed their toes on the postal regulations forbidding the transmission of periodicals carrying liquor advertisements into dry territory. Few periodicals do not invade some of the twenty-seven states still dry. But radio advertising is a new item in the picture. It was full-born into the world at almost the moment liquor legally was banned in 1920. But now we shall have to listen to our football broadcasts and our concert programs prefaced by such discursions as this:

> Ladies and gentlemen, this program is brought to you through the courtesy of the Red and Black Whisky Company. The steady increase in the sales of Red and Black proves one fact beyond a doubt. It you try Red and Black, the odds are very much against your ever going back to your old brand. Start the day with Red and Black. Be moderate. See how kind it is to your throat. Not a hiccough in a dray load. Switch to Red and Black for a week, and break from it—if you can.

That kind of bilge water will be piped into every American home that has a radio. And we shall have utterly no defense against it except the force of public opinion.

We should be aware, too, that national advertising campaigns are already under way to educate the tastes of the new generation. One national advertising agency urges such publicity at once in college papers, boasting that it possesses "one of the few men who understands both public reactions and college youth."

Colorful billboard and magazine advertisements can be tremendously effective. They can revolutionize the styles, customs and tastes of an epoch. Luscious lasses sipping something will aver, "When I want anything I evermore want it." I ask you, what sales resistance has youth to that?

Plenty of problems will confront us as we devise our liquor control legislation. And inasmuch as our lives are inescapably conjoined with men about us, when we clergy are invited, as we are from time to ttime, we will go down and pray with and for the legislature. They're going to need it now.

III

But in the third place, after we have bid farewell to prohibition, and as we formulate such controls as are possible and wise, *each man must stand up and be counted, as to where he stands on self-control.*

The churches have been admonished a good deal of late to confine themselves to their distinctive function of moral instruction. That is precisely what I propose to do now. Every word said here is dictated by love for my fellowmen. I want to be a man among men, and not different from other men. But I shall have to begin to get down off the fence, and it is not easy to do this.

I shall like to begin by quoting an official statement of the Social Relations Committee of Wisconsin Congregational Conference, meeting the first of October. (I think it is a good statement—I wrote it one morning before breakfast!)

> In view of the imminent rescinding of the Prohibition Amendment, we reiterate our belief in the value on all grounds, of total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquors. We counsel the churches, through the pulpit and the church school, to instruct on the injurious effect of alcohol on the human body and mind, family and society. Respecting our historic adherence to liberty of conscience, with malice toward none who differ from us on this issue, and with charity for all who wrestle with the temptations of physical habit and social custom we propose in the spirit of love to rear the future generations in our churches on a sound and enthusiastic adherence to the virtue of temperance.

The liberty of conscience and conduct indigeneous to our church should here be emphasized. A typical statement of the Congregational position runs:

> We believe in the freedom and responsibility of the individual soul, and the right of private judgment. Each member is the sole custodian of his own conscience, having a right to interpret the Scriptures and to determine his own conduct in the light of that interpretation, so long as his conduct does not infringe the rights of others, or disturb the peace or impugn the good name of the church.

I should like to speak, therefore, in the spirit of St. Paul, who in another connection said,

> Now concerning this matter I have no commandment of the Lord; but I give my judgment—but I think also I have the Spirit of God.

1. For one thing, then, let us guard against being self-righteous or hypocritical. We have no right to judge people for what we deem faults in them, when we may have worse ones of different sorts in us. The Master held that the sins of the spirit are more devastating than the sins of the flesh. He said that

drunkards and harlots would get into the Kingdom of Heaven before the hard-hearted and the selfish. In charity let us understand why men drink, and say, "There but for the grace of God go I." Spiritual pride is despicable. It is possible to be a total abstainer and a spiritual failure.

Above all, let us not be such hypocrites as to require of others what we will not do ourselves. Let no employer post signs announcing drunkenness a cause for dismissal, unless he imposes like obligation on himself. Steadiness of eye and mind is just as necessary in making business judgments, which involve the livelihoods of your men, as it is in handling machinery.

If your chauffeur may not drink; then you ought not. If your surgeon, or your lawyers, or your investment banker may not drink; what right have you? Do you want your public school teachers, that handle your children, to be drinking men and women? You have much more intimate responsibility for those children than their teachers do. Above all, do not tell your children not to drink, and then drink yourself behind their backs. No hypocrisy is worse than that.

The sins of the spirit are worse than the sins of the flesh. But the sins of the flesh are sort of kindergarten sins; and they must be mastered, before the higher virtues can be attained.

2. Then let us make very vivid to ourselves the self and socially destructive effects of narcotics. These are old fashioned temperance lessons, but they need to be revived and reviewed.

There are three levels of disturbance by narcosis. First, the finer capacities of self-criticism are blurred. Second, neuro-muscular coordination is destroyed. And third, the instinctive impulses are released beyond control. The highest attributes of the moral nature are affected first; and the process goes on down through every level of the system, until there is no libidiny the drunkard does not know. "Where wine enters, modesty departs."

There are special factors in the situation today which only accentuate the age-old need for sobriety. Economic competition for jobs is so severe, that no man can afford to handicap himself with this unnecessary impediment. We have an insurance structure in this country that did not exist fifteen or twenty years ago. If drinking becomes more generally prevalent in American life, insurance rates must go up, and insurance business will come down. Technology has given us too powerful and complicated a mechanism to be operated with a trembling hand or a cloudy eye. After the drinking party, when, in an auto wreck, you have killed your neighbor, killed or maimed your wife, and wish you had killed yourself, it is not pleasant to sit alone with your thoughts. And there is the new freedom among women since the War. Women will do their drinking with the men.

Alcohol can only complicate the all too difficult problem of marriage today. Notoriously it loosens sex controls. Mussed up with a little liquor, youth will do what afterwards it may regret. The return of freely flowing alcohol, uninhibited, will multiply pre-marital relationships, illegitimacy, and necessary marriage. It will renew the age-long advance of inebriate husbands, repulsive in that condition, upon long-suffering wives. It will increase the number of unwanted, physically handicapped, and under-privileged children. And it will increase the psychic tensions of the home. Marriage is a perilous enough adventure, without adding that item to the complex.

A young nurse is engaged to marry a promising young doctor, when she discovers he drinks a good deal. So she breaks it off, before it is too late. She is thinking not only of herself; she is thinking of the next generation. She is a nurse; she knows. That deserves the banishment of men, which can so blast the high hopes of youth and break a woman's heart!

That is one reason I hope the religious instruction my children get in their church school will include a clear picture of the effects of alcohol on human behavior, the human family, and human economy in general. I hope my daughters don't learn to drink. I can only hope. I pray they will never find themselves married to men who drink. I can only pray. But every father has the right to say to his son-in-law: As you deal with her, so may God deal with you!

The desire for liquors is not a natural appetite. Our palates and our idioms alike betray it is an artificial one. We say we learn to drink. It is not, therefore, a necessary satisfaction; and it can be done away. Not by law, but only voluntarily.

3. I hope, then, that it is clear what side of the fence I come down upon. On every ground of self-interest and of social consideration, I come down on the side of total abstinence. I do not counsel moderation; I counsel total abstinence.

I believe that men need the help of religion for this. It is not much discussed in the New Testament; for it was a question settled in the Old Testament. The oldest proverbial literature we have holds that "wine is a mocker, and strong drink is raging—at last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder."

The Church is here to help men in their struggle with this thing. It will not censure; it will sympathize. It will throw the arm of love about you, and put you into a taxi, and carry you up and tuck you into bed, and clean up after you, and take care of your wife and children when you no longer can. As I know from personal experience, it will pray with you. It will say: Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall. There hath no temptation taken you but such as man can bear; for God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation make also the way of escape, that ye may be able to endure it.

No, there are some things that the law cannot do, and that only religion can do. But religion can help us stand up like men and be counted.

A physician in Sparta, Wisconsin, elected to the Moderatorship of the Wisconsin Conference of Congregational Churches, tells of a boyhood friend of his who became a saloon-keeper. He so conducted his business as to be in every way a liability to the community. When prohibition came along and closed up his place, the man and his wife turned a page in the book of their life and began to come to church. For ten years they altered the whole tenor of their ways and lived faithful and true as Christians should. And then the man developed a physical condition because of which the doctor was obliged to take his old friend to a great clinic, where an operation was performed of such a character that no general anesthetic could be used. The shock to his system began to be so great that in the midst of the operation the doctor said, "You'll have to take a swig of whisky to pull you through." "No," said the man, "I haven't touched a drop in ten years, and I don't take any now." In twenty minutes he was gone. But such as he do not lack to stand before God forever!

(Rev.) Alfred W. Swan.

# The Forgotten Woman

The forgotten man has come into his own at last. Higher wages, shorter hours, fairer conditions, the right of collective bargaining, all these have been bestowed upon him by the New Deal. Even the white-collar worker, whose very respectability deprived him both of the protection of a labor union and the protection of the labor laws, has been remembered. The minimum wages and the maximum hours of work apply to him as well as to the manual toiler.

But the forgotten woman is forgotten still. The N.R.A. makes no provision for the domestic worker. As in all the labor legislation of the past, the provision "except domestic service" still applies.

Because domestic work has remained individualistic while all other forms of work have been socialized, because it has preserved its character of personal relationship between employer and employe, and because the tradition persists that the shelter of the home is a sufficient guarantee of well-being, every labor reform has stopped short of the domestic worker; and yet the woman employed in domestic service has been subjected to the evils of low wages, long hours, insanitary conditions and social neglect even more than the woman in industry.

Long before women went to work in factories and offices they went to work in other women's homes. Indeed, until machinery had displaced manual tools and the factory had superseded the domestic work-shop, domestic employment was a woman's only means of earning her livelihood. Women were hired not only to cook, bake, wash, scrub and clean house, but also to spin, weave and sew. Many of them were highly skilled artisans and their work was an honorable calling. Though their wages were wretchedly low and their hours of toil were endless, they were not regarded as belonging to an inferior class but formed part of the family group and had the opportunity of making advantageous marriages. So respectable was domestic service in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that it was not at all uncommon for the son of a well-to-do family or the widowed employer himself to marry the hired girl.

When the earliest spinning mills offered a new opportunity to the woman breadwinner, many genteel families, who did not object to their daughters' entering domestic service, shrank from letting them go to the mills on account of the real and imaginary dangers that beset innocent, young girls in the man's world. But this attitude was soon overcome by the great advantages which the mills offered. Higher wages, shorter hours, an opportunity to see new places and mingle with new people, a wider social life and some educational opportunities were the attractions that lured enterprising girls away from domestic service to factory work, so that among the early mill hands one found the daughters of doctors, lawyers and ministers, girls who, in their leisure hours, attended lecture courses, wrote poetry and edited magazines. Gradually girls who were American born and bred deserted domestic service altogether for the factories and—at a later date—for stores and offices and professional occupations, while their places were taken by immigrant girls, first from Ireland and Scotland, and later from continental Europe.

Now the "hired girl" became most emphatically the "servant." Belonging to an alien people, a stranger to the family in whose midst she toiled, she was looked down upon as an inferior being and her work was looked down upon as well. Domestic service gradually slipped down to the lowest rung of the social ladder and there, despite all the changes that have swept over our country during the past one hundred years, has it remained until this day. Labor movements rose and fell; working girls in stores and factories were organized; legislation was enacted to protect women in industry; public spirited ladies formed Consumers' Leagues to combat sweat-shop conditions. But to the sweat-shops in their own homes, these same ladies never gave a thought. It seemed perfectly proper for Mary or Bridget to be up at six o'clock in the morning baking bread and to be up still at eleven in the evening, cleaning up after a party; to do all the family's work, from scrubbing floors to washing fine linens; to be hired for the lowest possible wage, to be given no privacy, no comforts, and to be allowed only a scant afternoon a week and a late Sunday afternoon and evening every other week for rest and recreation. Mary or Bridget were not regarded as working girls in the accepted sense. They were servants. They toiled, under the watchful eyes of their mistress, in the sanctity of her home, and with this sanctity she brooked no interference. The great changes that were taking place outside the four walls of home passed Mary and Bridget by.

Conditions were at the worst for domestic workers at the time when wealthy American families lived in mid-Victorian splendor in high-stoop, brown-stone front houses. Conveniences that have made possible the modern, servantless home and have created the modern woman who does her own work and still has time for other interests, were still unknown. Coal had to be carried from the cellar, often to the third and fourth floors. Carpets had to be swept with brooms. Rugs and upholstered furniture had to be beaten. Clothes were washed in tubs in the kitchen and—on rainy days—carried to the attic to be dried. Servants, in those days, climbed enough steps every day to equal the ascent of a mountain. They were expected to wash all the numerous windows, both inside and out, to sweep and wash the yard, the stoop and the sidewalk, and frequently also to tend the furnace and to clean the cellar. While they spent most of their waking time in the basement, they slept in the attic, in rooms that were small, badly furnished, poorly lighted by a single gas-jet and always unheated. As the family possessed only one bath room, there was, of course, no bathroom at all for the servant. A pitcher and a wash basin, with hot water to be carried up from the kitchen, were her only means of maintaining that godliness which cleanliness is supposed to be. At that time $25 a month was a princely wage for a first class cook, while a chamber maid and waitress could not hope to earn more than $20. Although the mid-Victorian lady of the house had her servant problem, because the poorly paid, hard worked, foreign girls were usually igno-

rant and frequently incompetent, she never had any difficulty in hiring new girls. A steady stream of immigration kept the employment offices filled with healthy, strong, willing girls, to whom the wages offered appeared tempting in comparison with what they had been able to earn in their native lands.

It was not until the days of the Great War that the situation was completely reversed. Immigration practically ceased. War orders, first for the Allied armies and later for our own, enormously increased the demand for women factory workers, and the necessity of replacing enlisted and drafted men drew thousands of women out of the home into industry and commerce. The foreign-born girls, who had contentedly toiled in kitchens, who had never known any means of earning their bread except domestic service, began to follow their American-born sisters into the factories. They ceased being servants and became working girls instead. The effect on the American home was devastating. Now there was a real servant problem. Maids, young and old, white and colored, experienced or inexperienced—were simply not to be had. Housewives advertised in the "help wanted" columns without receiving a single reply and went from one employment agency to another only to find a handful of prospective aids besieged by an army of would-be employers. Families who had kept two and three servants, had to content themselves with one, and those who had employed one had to do without any. The modern apartment, the electric refrigerator, the vacuum cleaner and many other labor saving devices came to the assistance of the distracted housewife and helped her to do her own work. But for the domestic workers, those who remained at their traditional labor, the day of retribution had dawned. Wages went up and up. $75, $85, even a hundred dollars a month, were willingly paid to competent workers. At the same time the demands made upon them were decreased. "No washing," was one of the many inducements offered and "extra time off" another. The servant's personal needs began to be considered. A private room and bath, and time in which she could do things for herself, came to be regarded as essential. Indeed, she was no longer called "servant" but "help," and her ancient occupation again tended to become respectable. During the balmy decade of America's unparalleled prosperity domestic service required no legal protection. The law of supply and demand, operating in its favor, had brought it into line with other remunerative occupations.

Then came the crash. People lost fortunes over night. Factories shut down. Unemployment increased by leaps and bounds. The harrowing breadlines began to form. "No help wanted" was the sign that confronted countless women workers in search of a job, and when they turned back to the home, willing to be servants again, they found that, here too, no help was wanted because their former employers could no longer afford to employ them. While, during the war and in the early post-war days, the demand for domestic workers had greatly exceeded the supply, now the supply again exceeded the demand, and this excess grew more and more pronounced as increasing numbers of women were thrown out of industrial occupations, and as ever fewer families were financially able to employ domestic help. Wages dropped rapidly, more rapidly than in any other occupation, and out of all proportion to the reduced cost of living. Many first class cooks, waitresses, chambermaids and laundresses, who had commanded high wages, but had lost their jobs, were, upon finding new employment, obliged to accept half and less than half of what they had formerly earned. Maids who were retained in homes in which they had been employed for years, were told that they could remain only if they were willing to have their wages greatly reduced. Countless homemakers, confronted by the necessity of lowering their standard of living, determined upon lower wages for their help as a first and convenient economy. Indeed, in a great number of homes not hit unduly hard by the depression, the economy both began and ended there. Cocktail parties continued, a new car was bought, the mistress of the house did not deny herself a single luxury to which she had been accustomed, but the maid found ten, fifteen or twenty dollars a month taken out of her wages.

Most sorely tried of all were the colored girls who, in the North, had been the latest to enter domestic service in great numbers. Coming with the wave of Negro migration that moved from the Southern cottonfields to the Northern centers of industry when America had entered the war and the labor shortage had become acute, they took the places of foreign-born white girls who had deserted the home for the factory, just as, at an earlier date, the foreign-born had replaced the native white Americans. Willing, capable, accustomed to all the labors of the home, but not quite used to Northern ways, they were expected to accept and did accept slightly lower wages than white girls, even during the prosperity era. With the coming of the depression their wages dropped faster and lower than those of white domestic workers and greater numbers of them were unemployed and became dependent upon charity. The race prejudice, operating against them as it operates against colored people in almost every occupation, made their position increasingly difficult as they found themselves in competition with more and more white girls seeking the same jobs. One frequently heard employers of domestic labor say: "Why should I employ a colored girl with so many white girls to be had?" Or: "There are too many white girls unemployed; we must help our own people first." In order to overcome the race prejudice and to compete with the white girls, the colored girls were obliged to offer their services at starvation wages. In fact it was not unusual to hear the pathetic plea of willingness to work for board and lodging.

At the present time domestic workers are not being re-employed to any noticeable degree, and employment offices are not reporting any marked increase in the wages offered. But the cost of living has begun to rise, and the thousands of unemployed women who formerly made a living by domestic service, remain dependent upon charity and outside the pale of industrial recovery. Why can they not be included in the enormous task of human rehabilitation that our government has undertaken? If manufacturers and merchants are urged to employ more people, why cannot homemakers be urged to do the same? There are countless homes, from

Maine to Texas, that would not be financially wrecked if the one maid's hours were shortened and her labors lightened by the employment of a second maid with decent living wages for both. There are countless other, servantless homes, whose owners could well afford to employ one maid or, at least, part-time help. In each case a family's financial capacity to hire domestic labor could be determined by their standard of living and their expenditures for other purposes. Families might economize along other lines to take one decent, self-respecting woman out of the ranks of the unemployed.

"An encroachment upon the sanctity of the home!" "An interference with personal rights!" So many housewives will cry with dismay. True. But our entire industrial recovery program consists of a smashing of ancient sanctities and an utter disregard of time-honored, personal rights. In this age of social awakening we have come to recognize that the most important of all rights is the right to earn one's bread, and that other rights must give way before it. The Industrial Recovery Act, overwhelmingly backed by public opinion, asks employers in every branch of industry, in every store and office, to hire more people than they need, at higher wages than they care to pay, for fewer hours than they deem necessary, in order to fight unemployment and to re-establish the old American ideal of equal opportunities for all. Why, then, stop at the portals of the home? The place in which we live is no more sacred than the place in which we work, and it is subject to the same economic laws.

The Blue Eagle, America's new symbol of justice, must usher in a better day for the toiler in the home as well as for the toiler in factory and office. We plead for the spreading of its sheltering wings over the forgotten woman.

META LILIENTHAL

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## The Present Situation in Japan

The military faction is in supreme and unquestioned power. This is due largely to the support of the villages, where the old belief in the divinity of the Mikado and the Japanese race still prevails. In return, the army is anti-capitalist and concerned for the welfare of the villages. It is due also to the fact that there is no alternative in sight. The political parties are discredited, liberal opinion is scattered and disunited, Socialism has only three members in the Diet, and Communism, while powerful as a movement of thought, has only a very rudimentary organization. The army has created a situation from which there can be no turning back, and even those who oppose it feel that to do so openly would but make matters worse.

For three days in August air maneuvres were executed in the neighborhood of Tokyo, in the presence of the Emperor and with the collaboration of the civil population. The official aim is to increase the air force by 25 per cent up to the U. S. A. level. It is denied that this is directed against any country, but the necessity of preparation against America and Russia is used constantly as an argument for collecting funds, and it is declared that England and America are helping China to build up a huge air force. At the same time, it is increasingly felt that their trading interests require peace between Japan and the United States, while the fact that the country has chosen to stand on capitalism and imperialism and that Communism is a grave internal menace, would point to Russia as the more likely enemy in event of war.

The development of Manchoukuo is being pushed on, by state capital and through the South Manchurian Railway. The state not only finds most of the capital, but is often guaranteeing interest in the form of annual subsidies. Japanese business interests regard such a policy as doomed to disaster, and resent the exclusion of private enterprise. Already protection has been found necessary against Manchoukuo iron and steel. It is increasingly realized that Manchoukuo cannot provide an outlet for surplus population. Emigration has been attempted on a small scale, with subsidies for a five-year period, and it is hardly expected that the venture will be self-supporting after that.

But the population problem is universally regarded as grave in the extreme. The steep rise in the birth-rate about 1920 means an addition per annum of 400,000 young men and women seeking employment during the next few years. Expanding world-trade might solve this problem. But while Japan is exceptionally prosperous at the moment, this state of things is not expected to last. The Ottawa Conference is regarded as the beginning of the end, the end being a world organized in economic blocs, with Japan excluded from them all. This is taken to mean that Manchoukuo as a source of raw materials and as a controlled market is vital to the country's future. There is a determination to stand by what has been done at all costs, even that of world war, and any outside pressure will only serve to steel the will of the people to resist to the bitter end.

The financial policy of the government, with its lavish expenditure on armaments and internal loans to balance the budget, is attacked every day in the press. It is widely said that five years of this will bring economic collapse.

There is a genuine desire for friendship with China, on the understanding, of course, that China will recognize Manchoukuo and allow Japan to consolidate her gains. The West is regarded as jealous of Japan, and the League's action is construed as another Three-Power intervention after the pattern of that of 1895. Japanese opinion cannot forget the immigration laws in the United States and the refusal at Versailles to incorporate the principle of racial equality in the Covenant. "It is felt by everybody in Japan that it is hopeless for her, as a yellow nation, to look for reason or justice from the white Powers." It was a psychological blunder of the first magnitude to send out a "white" commission to investigate conditions in Manchoukuo; one Asiatic representative might have made all the difference. Some think that it is Japan's mission to unite the world under the rule of the Mikado, others advocate a Monroe doctrine for the Orient and talk of the deliverance of India from the British yoke.

Communism is widespread among students and intellectuals generally. The Government now fears its entry into the primary schools, where it would threaten the very basis of the State. It is said that the Oxford resolution not to fight for King and country might

meet with a surprising reception from the colleges. An attempt is being made to revive the old patriotism and reverence for the Emperor, and various Fascist organizations have sprung up.

As regards the future, only two possibilities seem open. One is that financial collapse might give an opportunity for a more liberal party to attain power. But at least equally possible is the alternative that this would give the opportunity for a Fascist dictatorship. On the other hand, it is urged that a change of policy in the West would be most effectual. The achievement of a considerable measure of disarmament or the abandonment of economic nationalism would convince Japan that militarism is opposed to present-day world-trends and it would be at once discredited.

HONG-KONG REPRESENTATIVE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL, LONDON.

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## Marriage or Divorce for a Dollar

A marriage today in Russia is taken just as seriously as in any other country. Because the Soviet law on marriage is a more liberal one than ours does not mean it sanctions polygamy and polyandry. Far from it. Such a thing as an "illegitimate child" and the term "out of wedlock" do not exist in Russian society. All children of unmarried parents are entitled to the same rights as those of the married, and both parents must contribute to the support of the children if such be the case.

In Soviet Russia there are two kinds of marriages, registered and unregistered, the recorded type being for the purpose of offering an additional protection in safeguarding the rights of the parents or the children. Let us see what this type of a marriage is like. In the case of a registered union both persons must be eighteen years of age. The official place of recording a marriage is the Civil Registry Office and when a couple comes to this office they must be identified by documentary proofs. Following this the clerk asks the standard set of questions, including some new ones on us, as to whether they have been married before, related, know each other's health, the common surname desired, and if either one or both are members of a labor union. After these are recorded they are read by the official for verification purposes, the persons at the time warned of being criminally liable in the event of any false statement, and are then signed by the parties and counter-signed by the official. Witnesses are permitted to be present but are not required by law.

The two persons are now married. Quite simple, but yet practical. Of course, there is a fee included. The wife, if employed, can continue in her respective trade. In America today, with all the unemployment distress women in various public institutions and corporations, especially in the teaching profession, when they become married or if already so, are being barred. Such disfranchisement is tabooed in Soviet Russia.

It is the rule at every registry office to give the couple who registered their marriage a pamphlet containing information on sex hygiene and contraception with the address of a nearby clinic for tuition purposes. The booklet is dispensed free of charge. This part of the marriage would, no doubt, meet the approval of Margaret Sanger, an indefatigable worker for such a noble cause.

The registration of a marriage must take place in either of the declarant's place of residence. For example: A man living in Moscow who is desirous of marrying his lady friend living in Leningrad must go there to register their union or vice versa. They cannot legally go off to some other city for that purpose.

Now, suppose this couple would like the blessing of the church. They have the right to seek this remarriage, if you wish to call it that, but it has no significance whatsoever under the Soviet law. Oftentimes, perhaps more so in the rural sections, couples have the orthodox religious ceremony performed and then, to conform with the law, go through the proceedings previously mentioned. The church wedding, though it be only that, is recognized as a marriage, but unregistered. Two persons may also live together by mutual agreement, an arrangement which like that performed by the church is considered unregistered.

In the case of pregnancy caused by casual relation, the mother has the right during this period to make a declaration of fatherhood at the local official bureau—a privilege granted even after the birth of the child—or start a suit in a court of law testifying a certain person as the other parent. The mooted father, who within a month after receiving a notice to this effect, refrains from objection, is registered as the father. However, should there be an opposition, the person named can commence a law suit against the mother in which case she must prove her declaration. The accused person is given one year to enter his suit after receiving the official communication.

Should the court find the person, recorded as the male parent, guilty, a portion of not less than one-half of the expenses related to the pregnancy, plus those for not longer than six months after the birth of the child, must be assumed by the father. If, however, during the trial the court finds that the mother had sexual relations with others at or near the time of conception, a decree is entered thereby naming one of these persons as the legal father of the child. He, of course, must shoulder the expenses just mentioned. In Soviet Russia the state protects the child in all cases, but contrary to general belief, it is actually a protection and not a control or ownership by the government.

Under the Czar the wife was regarded as an investment to the husband, just as if he were purchasing some form of property and in the farming communities, it was customary for a farmer to marry a strong woman, one who could do the most and the hardest work. No wonder the husband thought of his wife as property and treated her as such!

The Russians of the olden day have many proverbs to this effect and some, no doubt, are even carried out in practice today in the remote villages

of the Soviet land. In the "Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia" by Elaine Elnett is mention of several.

Considering himself immeasurably above his wife in every respect, the husband assumes the right and takes it as his privilege to "teach" her. Unfortunately, his methods of teaching are rather antiquated, and his school equipment is also old-fashioned, consisting of his fists, feet and a whip or a lash. Girls are comforted thus: "Don't cry when you are getting ready to be married, you'll do enough crying when your husband starts beating you." "Love your wife like your soul, shake her like a pear tree," is the motto of the Russian husband. "Not to beat a woman is not to get any good out of her." "Hit your wife harder, the soup will be tastier." " Beat the child from infancy, beat the wife from the beginning." "Beat your wife while she is young, and you shall have rest in your old days." "The one who does not beat his wife does not live in full domesticity." "Beat your wife oftener, it will be useful for the future."

Let us turn to the converse side, divorce. Divorce in the U. S. S. R. is not as difficult to obtain for anyone seeking it who has a clear case, as it was under the Czar or as it is now in all capitalistic countries, except for the bourgeois class of the latter. Laws in the capitalistic countries force the man and wife of the laboring class to live together because freedom involves finances for lawyers and law court proceedings, which in most instances, are clear out of their bounds, while extending to the wealthy unlimited loopholes. All the money obstacles and class restrictions which exist in capitalistic nations have been removed in Russia.

A good example of class privilege, which was portrayed so well in "Washington Merry-Go-Round" in the chapter captioned, "The Man Who Stayed Too Long," is the one where Andrew Mellon, one of the richest men in the United States, high-handedly divorced his wife, twenty years his junior by having a new divorce law passed in the state of Pennsylvania for his case, and then having it repealed at the end of his legal battle.

A marriage or a divorce in Russia can be obtained for two rubles (equivalent to a dollar), if either person is a member of a trade union. For the non-member, however, the fee is ten rubles.

Anyone who is desirous of dissolving his or her marriage in the Soviet Union need not give a reason for such at the registry office. This declaration can be filed either in writing or orally by the husband or wife, but it must be done at their place of residence. After this is cared for, the other conjugal partner not seeking the divorce is sent a copy of the record. If the wife so desires, she is granted her maiden name. However, should there be children, they retain the surname given them at birth. Should the wife be incapable of self-support the husband must pay her alimony, or, on the other hand, if the husband is not able to earn his livelihood, the wife must care for him. A fifty-fifty proposition all the way around.

In the event there are children, the case is a different one. The state is very strict in the protection of its younger citizens. A father and mother seeking a divorce must decide how the children are to be cared for. If for any reason, no agreement can be arrived at, their case is taken to court and, whatever the court rules, holds.

However, there are provisions in the Soviet law which call for the support of incapacitated parents by their offspring. Children who contribute support in this instance do so in equal shares, except where the means of the person or persons held liable are unequal or do not warrant it, then other ratios are arranged. Minor brothers or sisters can seek support from their elder brothers or sisters provided the latter ones are in a position to care for them. This only holds where the former juveniles do not receive alimony from the parents who themselves are needful.

Either grandparent, or both, if incapacitated, are entitled to support in the form of alimony from the grandchildren unless the latter haven't the means. As the connubial partner or the children are first looked to for such decreed allowance so the grandchildren, who are not able to care for themselves are subject to receive support from either or both of the grandparents, provided such cannot be obtained from their father or mother.

Should there be a split-up or a "divorce" in the case of an unregistered union, the personal property of either the husband or wife is difficult to prove unless witnesses are secured. It so happens in these instances they are generally hard to get. Although what is the property of one before marriage remains so after, all acquired after, in both types, is regarded as joint property. This together with that owned by each before the matrimony would be the sum total of the dispute. Could the husband take all the possessions? He might if he could offer good witnesses to bear him out. Such is one of the unpropitious phases.

How long does a person have to wait before given the right to remarry after a divorce? Perhaps within two hours, although there is no law stating a definite time.

Even though the marriage and divorce laws express freedom they are not in any way meant to be abused. Should a person seek too many divorces it would be very embarrassing for him when officials began inquiring into the "whys and wherefores" of his habits. The liberties of these laws are not for those who lack morals.

Whether we approve of this method of handling the social problems or not, the Russians have seen to it that there are no loopholes in their social system by making it a crime, punishable by a severe prison sentence, for any person who gives another a venereal disease. Should a diseased person marry and infect his conjugal partner it will be just too bad for that person when discovered.

There are no gold-digging divorcees plying their trade in Russia for the Soviet legal code will not tolerate it. Neither are there divorce havens like our famous Reno. "Money hungry" lawyers and "divorce promoters" are unknown.

Divorce quotas while they may be somewhat higher in the Soviet Union than in other countries, although some cities of Europe and the United States are nearly on par with those of Russia, divorces do not, nevertheless, in spite of the ease in obtaining them, exceed the marriages. Marriage in Russia, as in all countries, has for its foundations —the universal triumvirate of love, comradeship, and babies.

RUSSELL WRIGHT.

# The Study Table

## The Religious War in Germany

Dr. Macfarland is admirably qualified to present this timely account* of the conflict now raging in the Reich between Hitler and the rebellious Protestant pastors. He of all men was the one fitted to rush to Germany when news came of the conflict, and gather and codify the latest news from the front. Thus, his first acquaintanceship with the country began thirty-five years ago, when as a student he "saw something of its university life." Since these early days, he has visited Germany "on seventeen occasions." He knows all prominent leaders in church and state; and on this latest visit, in October and November of this past year, he conferred with practically everybody of consequence from Hitler down. This book is firmly based on first-hand experience running through a full generation to this present moment.

Dr. Macfarland, while undisguisedly sympathizing with the independent pastors, is objective in his survey of the situation, moderate in tone and temper, and absolutely impartial in judgment. He has much good to say of Hitler, praising his "obvious and undoubted sincerity . . . his high sense of some moral values, his loyalty and devotion to the German people, his unselfishness, his personal integrity." He makes due record of the fact that the churches, even those now in rebellion, offered no "protest against the anti-Semitism of the Nazi party before it came into power," and have now "assented to or (are) compliant with" the political domination of a regime "which is perhaps the most consummate in history." But in the end he makes plain the heroism of the Protestant pastors who are now refusing to consent to the absorption of their congregations into the totalitarian state, clarifies the issue as a battle for God and conscience, and proclaims the spirit of Luther reborn in a nation dominated at this hour by a more powerful and ruthless tyrant than Charles V.

In the story which he has to tell, Dr. Macfarland shows that a distinct movement for the revitalization of the Protestant churches in Germany began as far back as 1922, when the German Evangelical Federation of Churches was established. Ten years later, the National Socialists organized a church party of their own, which is now so notorious as the "German Christians." With the coming of Hitler to power, the Nazis undertook to subdue the churches to the same uniformity of discipline and obedience which was imposed upon all the rest of the Reich. This was an arrogant and brutal movement, which came to its climax with the election of National Bishop Mueller, an army chaplain and personal favorite of Hitler, as head of all the churches of the realm; and which anticipated as little opposition here as had been encountered elsewhere. But the pastors were evidently of different fibre from the Socialists, trades-unionists, and university professors. Without warning, and as though by common impulse, they struck back. They would not substitute the authority of the state for that of the gospel; they protested against the absorption of the young people's religious societies into the Nazi youth movement; they denounced the attempt to thrust aside the Jewish and Christian scriptures in favor of Norse mythology and folk-lore; and they insisted that the famous "Aryan paragraph" in the new church constitution, banning Christians of Jewish origin or connection, would never be obeyed. Between 600 and 700 pastors are now in full revolt, and they are supported by not less than 1,500,000 laymen. Hitler has at last met foemen of his own household.

Dr. Macfarland tells his exciting story with vivid style, and in earnest fidelity to the facts as he has found them. His narrative is inevitably huddled and in some places, confused. He was too near to hurrying events to see them in clear perspective, and in many cases it was simply impossible to know and report just what was going on. It is remarkable that he could have learned so much in so short a space of time. Especially valuable are the first-hand documents — proclamations, resolutions, statements, the Constitution of the German Evangelical Church, the National Concordat with Rome—which sprinkle the text and run over into various appendices. During the next four months thrilling despatches will come out of Germany about the religious war. Those who would understand them, should read this book.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*"The New Church and the New Germany," by Charles S. Macfarland. New York. Macmillan. $2.25.

## Humanism States Its Case

The Lowell Institute Lectures,* by Professor J. A. C. Fagginer Auer of the Harvard Divinity School, are now available for the general public. The work is moderate, comprehensive, and scholarly.

Dr. Auer purposely limited himself to the basic consideration on which he believes Humanism either stands or falls, viz., "The primary importance of man in the general scheme of things." He believes that Humanism needs defending against both its enemies and its friends. Its enemies fail to understand that Theism itself is more humanistic than commonly recognized. Its friends fail to recognize its limitations, and so misapprehend its possibilities. The real difference between Humanism and Theism relates to method; the former is chiefly inductive, whereas the latter is chiefly deductive.

In discussing the historical background the author shows that religiously man has been concerned with two objects of thought and feeling—God and man; and since man cannot focus on two objects at the same time, he shifts from one emphasis to another. While in the main religious attention has been centered on God, yet at certain times man has turned his attention manward. And at such times the two emphases separate so far that explanations cease to explain. Then comes the battle! Schiller's view of Humanism as a method of interpretation, and Reese's view of Humanism as a philosophy of human control, are combined by Dr. Auer in the definition:

> A system of thought which assigns a predominant interest to the affairs of man as compared with the supernatural or the abstract, and which believes man capable of controlling those affairs.

The chapter on Humanism and Ethics is especially interesting. Is *right* right because God wills it, or because I, on the basis of human experience, judge it so? Humanism takes the latter view. Its ethics is relativistic. The problem then is to produce a *sufficient* code, not an absolute one.

In Humanism and Religion the author goes straight to the heart of the current controversy. He

*"Humanism States Its Case." By J. A. C. Fagginer Auer. The Beacon Press. Boston.

says that while Humanism is not necessarily the denial of the existence of God, it does hold that one may be truly religious without such belief. The trend has been away from God—centered to man-centered values. An experience in which the self is blotted out is declared to be irreligious. Humanism posits the self,—all else is grouped around it.

The conclusion is that Humanism is here to stay; that it will become less critical of other systems of thought; that "it will give clearer evidence of its emotional content"; that it will increasingly emphasize its total environmental setting; and that it will develop over-beliefs that are appropriate to its man-centered philosophy of life.

CURTIS W. REESE.

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**Between the First and Second Five-Year Plans***

The structure of Soviet institution and society is little understood. Those affirming the superiority of Russia's financial organization, legal system, educational order seldom have a clear idea as to how any of them function. The basic political unit, the Soviet, is regarded an invention by a political genius when in fact, as Jerome Davis points out in this volume, it sprang from the unique Russian situation. Workers, peasant, soldiers councils came into being because the older agencies of control had broken down. Lenin recognized their power where Kerensky failed to do so; Lenin triumphed, Kerensky fled. For those who are serious in their effort to understand the New Russia this volume is indispensable. The trite comment that Americans are unable to get adequate material on Russia is answered by countless publications of the last five years, but no contribution to the growing literature on the Soviet Union better succeeds in doing its job.

A reviewer cannot attempt a survey of fourteen chapters written by a dozen contributors. Indeed some of the material in this volume has been treated more exhaustively in other contexts and requires no extension. The most valuable writing comes in Jerome Davis's "The Communist Party and the Government." Miss Comstock's "The Financial Structure," Ellsworth Huntington's "The Geographic Background of the Revolution," Newell Sims' "Socialistic Agriculture," Allen Smith's "The Legal System," and J. L. Gillins' "The Prison System."

Foreign judgments on Soviet life are frequently false because few foreigners are able to make the mental transfer to an entirely new set of principles and attitudes. Democracy means one thing in Russia, another in Germany, still another in the United States. Censorship under the Soviets is not identical to censorship in this country, and the difference is one that must be understood before discussion of the problem. "More slowly," would be good advice to all who would speak the final word about Russia's socialist society against a background of America's capitalist society. Such a warning seems superfluous but we have seen so many who plunge into discussion ignoring its importance that it seems necessary. For example it is often held that there is no democracy in contemporary Russia while in fact within the broad setting of governmental institutions there is a surprising degree of democratic method. Those over eighteen years old who work in the Soviet system, even foreigners, have the right to vote. Exceptions are made of those who are mentally deficient, who employ labor for gain, or live on rent or interest, or those considered defenders of the old system—the clergy, members of the czarist secret police, etc., exceptions that are numerically inconsequential. To be sure Trade Union representatives and Party delegates present a ticket that cannot easily be defeated, but such a procedure cannot be interpreted as of terroristic origin. A satisfactory solution of the problem of political power is nearer in Russia than in the Fascist countries of Europe. And certainly the method is more responsive to the public will than that devised by Hitler. A careful reading of Davis's principal contribution to the book summarizes the relation of the Party to the government in the most adequate manner. This chapter alone is worth the price of the volume.

Other contributors reveal clearly the tendency to bring the various units of Russian economic-social institutions to a standing wherein the democratic principle is not ignored. The earlier trend to centralization has been halted so that the bureaucratic machine may be kept under control. This attempt in industry has been a familiar aspect of all journalistic reports. In agriculture as well, this campaign has been moving forward in the last two years. Along with the consolidation of small kohozi (collective farms) the larger ones are being reduced. While in the communes there is an unparalleled manipulation of democratic control, in the light of achievements of the last year the benefits of such a policy begin to appear. Socialist agriculture with all the problems it still entails is firmly fastened on the Russian land. Its basic worth within the present setting cannot be escaped. In value the chapter having to do with this problem is second in value to the one mentioned above.

A constant course of questioning about Soviet financing is in regard to the tremendous bond issues and their financing. During one of the more recent drives Soviet citizens loaned to their government 3,900,000,000 rubles. Miss Comstock's answer to the phenomenon is that, "the surplus above the bare cost of living is not consumed in the form of personal or family luxuries, as in capitalistic countries. Instead it is either retained by the state or turned back to the state and used as capital for further construction and production." As the productive machine draws nearer to satisfying the consuming needs of the population there will be a greater abundance of consumers' goods and a proportional slackening in the requirement of capital for enlarging the units of production. Inevitable problems will arise as that process moves on but the pattern itself is clear in outline. The task of budget making, industrial and agricultural financing is simplified upon this provision. Not only the borrowing policy of the government is based upon this primary quality of Russian economy—only 14% of the total budget is cared for by loans—but the financial return demanded from the government trusts may be so measured.

To report even the substance of the remaining chapters is impossible. The significance in this volume is in part established by the unified nature of a work in which many individuals participated. There may be minor discrepancies but its wholeness within the limits set by the materials is evident. Factually the book cannot be criticized. The interpretative side might be put under fire by those who approach the subject other than sympathetically. For students of the social sciences it will stand as an impartial statement of conditions in

*"The New Russia," edited by Jerome Davis. The John Day Company. New York. $2.50.

the New Russia. And all impartial statements of Russia are, we think, favorable statements.

Since this whole volume has its beginnings in one of the numerous groups visiting the Soviet Union it would be good to believe that all such excursions result in as much understanding. That is too much to hope. Here is the result of specialized study by a number of students who know what society is and what it ought to be.

RAYMOND B. BRAGG.

### Stout Fellow?

When the devastating days of 1933 and the years preceding have become a matter of history, there will be those who will look back and laugh at the foolish wiseacres who so often predicted the imminent return of bigger and better profits. But there will also be those who will carry to the end of their days, the scars of battle and will curse the stupid order—however dead it may then be—which was responsible for the enormous deformity they see around them. Frank Tilsley's book* is not a projection into the future. It lays before its readers a story of what is going on right now; things which the most of us can hardly believe. So many of us are absorbed with the details of our own misfortunes that we cannot comprehend the significance of what is happening to our friends and neighbors. That they will come out of this struggle permanently warped does not occur to us. "The Plebian's Progress" makes it all too terribly clear.

Allen Barclay is any young man of the post-war generation,—you, or I. Too young to be in active service, he lives to see the havoc wrought by the economic collapse of 1930 and '31. That both he and his young wife are dead before the story ends is of little matter. Their spirits faded long before. The final effort to "go out proudly" is only an empty gesture; English in color, but empty nevertheless.

The book is disturbingly serious. It has none of the lighter banter of "Little Man, What Now." Too much space, perhaps, is given to the early life of Allen and Anne and to their happy days at home before their dreams came tumbling down. But even then, Allen was a student of left-wing politics. Before he ever met Anne he had decided that "the proprietor—has no more control over the fluctuating states of trade—than a child has over the recurring epidemics of measles, mumps, and whooping-cough." Long before the baby is expected Allen argues that "only the state should have the power of investing money and employing men. Not until then will employment be employment and not exploitation."

The development of the plot is slow and tiring. The expression "tripe," so often used by the characters, repeatedly finds its way into the mind of the reader. That the breakdown is swifter and more powerful as a result of this is a trick of the novelist, but this publication of Covici-Friede's is something more than a novel—or less! It is more in the nature of a pamphlet except that as such, it is inordinately long. It is certainly a diatribe against the existing system.

The author is a master of the language. There are passages that tempt one to go over them again and again like a prose pastel. And there are other passages that definitely and surely get you down.

Dash it all, that was the whole simple explanation. A deceit of nature's to trick people into playing their lives fearlessly, confidently. That was why people wallowed in their newspapers; how eager they were to believe in the smallness of other people; to believe that people on the dole didn't want work. To live little, mean, fearful lives like Aunt Jane.

Subtle, sure, deft touches brighten up the pages at other points. The final paragraph of one chapter is only a promise of something more to come: "Allen Met Anne."

The last few chapters are dreadfully real. His getting another job, his failure to "come back," his inability to adjust himself to a semblance of his former spiritual and moral self all point out relentlessly the inevitable consequences of his being dragged into the gutter and being starved into submission after he had fought to be true to his ideals *and had succeeded.* In the weeks that are just before us, those who read this book and cannot see how dangerously near they themselves are to a similar fate, have missed the point of the entire work and are blind to the evils of this decaying social order.

FRANK DOANE.

*"The Plebeian's Progress," by Frank Tilsley. Published by Covici-Friede, New York. $2.25.

### The Mysterious Caesar*

Mommsen made Caesar mythical, Spengler, symbolical; but among the long train of biographers following in their wake, Mr. John Buchan is the first to make him physical, in a book that combines Spartan sturdiness with those fluted flourishes indispensable in portraying the first great poet of action. Small in space, cyclopean in capacity (like its subject), the portrait seems perfection personified; and a closer glance across the canvas only heightens this impression, as well as enhancing respect for the painter, who works so swiftly yet so surely as he weaves both background and protagonist into a unified whole wherein the subtle Caesar stands revealed, and all his mysterious machinations are made manifest.

Rome, then, provides the background; and the peasant Republic first passes in rapid review through Punic and social wars, into a satisfactory state of social dissolution: proper prey for the audacious adventurer, who now makes his debut as reformer wearing the mantle of Marius.. From this time forward, the action is unified and vigorous: Caius' early loves; his adventurous youth; his intrigues amongst the populace; his conspiracy against Crassus; his triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus; his conquest of Gaul; his crossing of the Rubicon; Egypt and Cleopatra; his far-reaching Parthian plans, preluding world empire; and then—the colossal catastrope that struck down the master of chaos and plunged Rome once more into those seething cauldrons of civil war.

Through all this mighty melodrama moves Caesar, the supreme realist—dancing, flirting, fighting, composing, conquering; dying at finis the death of a demi-god—not shrouded in adoring incense, but plain: a complex amalgam of harmonious opposites never before or since united in one mortal. With him is his retinue of historical associates: Pompey, Crassus, Sertorius, Catiline, Cicero, Cato, Clodius, Cleopatra, Ariovistus, Vercingetorix, Brutus—all drawn to life and playing their parts in this epochal production of

*"Julius Caesar." By John Buchan. Appleton. 1932. $2.00.

despotism and downfall. Either by accident or by design, such an array only serves to set off more brilliantly the central figure; and we see clearly the mind of this founder of empire; cold, calculating, cunning, vindictive, sensuous, eager, daring, magnanimous, with a versatility bewildering in its kaleidoscopic accomplishments. One leaves the spectacle with an intimate understanding of a master, joined to a (perhaps unjustified) exultation in our Roman heritage—the last will and testament of this remarkable man.

ROBERT C. SCHALLER.

### A Story of Cuban Life

In "Man Wants But Little"* we have a novel of common-class Cuban life. The Cuban characters are rustics. The hero of the story is a Spaniard and he is quite the creature of circumstances. Two Americans figure, neither important, though one of them is a *deus ex machina* to get things out of the snarl into which he brought them. He is a wooden character with little excuse for existence. The Cuban characters have more life and reality. With them our author has scope for his psychological analysis. They are a sordid lot, but are true to type. The scene is a mining village, the characters are dependent upon mining enterprises conducted by Americans during the years of the World War. Politics enter the story and of course there is revolution—of the usual Cuban type. We always feel that something is going to happen to the little Spaniard, but nothing ever does. Our anxious suspense is wasted. The book really gives an instructive glimpse into Cuban conditions.

FREDERICK STARR

*"Man Wants But Little." Wilson Wright. New York: 1933. Albert and Charles Boni, Inc. 16 mo. pp. 355. Price $2.00.

## Correspondence

### An Appeal from Gandhi

Editor of UNITY:

I have just received a radiogram from Mahatma Gandhi, appealing to America for help on behalf of the victims of the recent great disaster at Bihar. Bihar was stricken by an earthquake some weeks ago. Twenty thousand people were killed and unnumbered thousands more or less seriously injured. Two thousand bodies were cremated in one funeral pyre, and vast numbers of the population are now homeless and helpless.

Gandhi has issued a public appeal to the people of India for funds to meet the needs of the people of Bihar. I am sure that there are many readers of UNITY who will want to know of this appeal, and join with Indians in answering it. I am undertaking to receive funds on Gandhi's behalf and will transmit to him immediately and securely such money as may be sent to me for this purpose. Shall we not respond?

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*New York City.*

## The Field

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are "Modern Hindu" hotels. The one I visited was a large and beautiful compound, trees, a number of 3-room houses. Meals were brought to the rooms. In Calcutta, in streets where Englishmen pass very seldom, hotels managed entirely by Indians, clean and serving delicious Bengali food and also some Occidental dishes, have been constructed in the past 3 years. Rabindranath Tagore's school, 3 hours from Calcutta, has a large guest house already well known as an international-spirited center. Benares Hindu University has a guest house; I discussed with Pandit Malaviya the question of making his great university the base for an "American Academy for Indian Studies"; he was very interested and found no objection in principle to the project. Alighar, the great cultural center of the Mohammedans, parallel to the Hindu institution at Benares, can be considered similarly a link in this "American Welcome" chain. The Ramakrishna Mission has branches throughout India; several of them are already equipped and glad to shelter and feed American men and women, as the heads of two branches told me. Many of the members of these Ramakrishna "monasteries" are broadly educated, English-speaking and appreciative of their continent's cultural background. Of these and the many not mentioned, I would consider Calcutta or Benares the best of all centres for Americans.

*A Truly Indian Travel Service*

The other of these two practical machines for facilitating America-India understanding can also be set in motion in 1934. It aims to help Americans to go to India by informing them of the cheapest ways to get there, of truly Indian organizations in India anxious to help them see the constructive side, the side of the future. Such a thoughtful travel service does not at present exist. Dr. Haridas Muzumdar and I have had considerable encouragement from those with whom we discussed the project and there is every chance of eager cooperation from American steamship lines. Such a service is particularly needed when the ineffectiveness and the misleading attitude of the British-influenced agencies, notably the "Imperial Railways," are considered. The British services are ineffective from the point of view of India-America understanding because, by insisting that visitors must travel and live according to the standards of the British rulers, who are stranger to and estranged from the Indian masses, many of the more serious American students are financially eliminated from those contemplating a visit to India. An antidote to the British-influenced services is needed also because their entire interpretation of India is misleading: they inevitably bring those eager to understand India to view India precisely as England wishes India to be viewed—as an exotic land of tigers, ruins, leprosy, extravagant despots.

The true India, the factories and farms of an incalculably influential future, whose world role (as Tagore says in his essay on "Nationalism") is to aid other nations on the path to peace and cooperation, can only be brought within reach of effectual Americans by finding machinery to put them in direct touch with the Indians, eliminating that warping influence, the old-timer English middleman. Under Indian auspices and in the spirit of study, one is able to leave U. S. A. in April, 1934, and return in April, 1935, at a total cost including all steamers, railway, incidentals, of less than $1,000.

WILLIAM DANGAIX ALLEN.

### Go Straight, Mr. President

There is a difference of opinion as to whether President Roosevelt is turning to the right or to the left in his program for a new deal:

little attention is paid to his going straight. When a man is struggling against terrible odds to bring back prosperity the general opinion is that he should not be criticized for minor lapses by the way. Opportunism is the American shibboleth.

The president has obtained for labor greater recognition than has ever before been accorded by the government; he is attempting to curtail the rapacity of the industrialists; he has recognized Russia; he has restored citizenship to political prisoners; he has secured the assistance of brainy public-spirited professors; he has endeared himself to the people through his speeches and energetic actions; he has frankly admitted that he does not know whether his program will succeed or not.

It is the privilege of any citizen in this still comparatively free country to express his opinion of the government, so we may be pardoned for reviewing some of the acts of the President which appear inconsistent, risking the appellation "bourgeois" for demanding consistency.

Mr. Roosevelt criticized the Republicans for their extravagance and declared that a deficit menaced the credit of the country; now he has announced a larger deficit than anyone imagined possible—$7,000,000,000—and a spending program which will increase the public debt to nearly $32,000,000,000, the highest ever. He has terminated four taxes borne chiefly by the rich.

Since denouncing the Republican protective tariff President Roosevelt has told the farmers and miners that he would protect them with a tariff on wheat and coal.

While demanding that industry pay its employees higher wages, the President has reduced salaries of federal clerks; the government is not entitled to display the blue eagle.

While the President was making his admirable peace speech, assuring Latin-America that there would never be an invasion of their territory, United States warships were hovering around Cuba and the President was refusing to abandon the financial supervision of Haiti, requiring the presence of marines; nor had he ended the sale of arms to foreign countries. He has openly expressed preference for nationalism over internationalism and is increasing the size of the navy and the number of marines available for landing expeditions. Six of the sixteen warships still remain in Cuban waters.

After assurances that the stabilization of currency was important on the program of the London Economic Conference, President Roosevelt reversed himself and refused stabilization of the dollar, using language offensive to the other nations.

The President has repudiated the government's agreement to redeem its gold certificates and Liberty bonds in gold and has made it illegal for American citizens to possess the gold coins of their own government. He has artificially reduced the value of the dollar to about 60 cents.

The new deal requires increased prices and a higher cost of living, to accomplish which the President ordered the destruction of cotton, hogs and wheat while millions of people were in want.

The President is reported to have warned reporters that if they printed what he told them he would deny it, to which one reporter replied, "So there is another Roosevelt in the White House." The New York *Times* for December 24 carried an article by Arthur Krock in which he said: "Wilson never denied a published fact that was true. Such denials come frequently in the present administration."

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was Governor of New York and John Haynes Holmes and Stephen S. Wise of the City Affairs Committee appealed to him to oust the New York City grafters, Mr. Roosevelt replied in a published letter rebuking the reformers, and when they again sought his assistance, remarked, "If they would serve their God as they seek to serve themselves, the people of New York would be the gainers." Later, when the scandal became too flagrant, Governor Roosevelt admirably conducted the hearing against Mayor Walker.

*The Arbitrator.*

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### A Lesson in Destructiveness

In the movie houses a week or so ago a feature in the "news of the day" pictured the work of destroying 9,000,000 acres of standing cotton crop already well advanced. The "talkie" accompanying the picture called attention to the way in which the horses, trained to go in the furrows between the rows, were now treading down the high-grown plants, while the plow uprooted the rows, completing the work of destruction instead of stirring the furrows to stimulate Nature's activity. It is difficult to conceive of such an object lesson in destructiveness without considering its full and ultimate effects. To one brought up in comparative poverty, but in an atmosphere of absolute thrift, under the constant reminder that "wilful waste makes woeful want," there is something appalling, if not sacrilegious, about such a scene. It seems little short of blasphemy against the bounty of Nature and the labor of man, around both of which a certain aura of sacredness has been attached in the teaching of former generations.

One is aware, of course, of the situation and arguments that have occasioned this process of crop destruction; but wherein does it differ, essentially or in principle, from the machine-smashing tactics that laborers in England were tempted, or driven, to adopt in the early part of the nineteenth century? The effect of such a picture, and the process of destructiveness that it portrays, on realistic youth may well prove as serious as pictures exploiting crime and sex. Would it not be an easy, and not illogical, inference that by destroying buildings and goods one could create work? Already the same policy has found expression in the proposal that a large proportion of the nation's milch cows should be butchered so as to limit the supply and raise the price of milk—and this when millions of the nation's children have never come anywhere near the quart-of-milk-a-day which good health practice ordains for the child in the well-to-do and well-regulated home! Surely we cannot claim to have found either the right method, or the right goal, of adjustment of what is admittedly a difficult and a serious problem, while we deliberately encourage the destruction of the materials of food and clothing! If there were not so many millions relatively unclad and unfed, the defectiveness of the present dangerous methods and precedents would not be so glaring, but where human wants are still so insistent, destructiveness cannot be the true method of attaining prosperity and progress—any more than the smashing of machines a century ago could have effectually benefited the workers, dire as was their situation in necessity and peril, or have benefited society as a whole.—*The Congregationalist.*